number of fresh demands for schools in spite of the fact that there are nearly 700 schools in the State, call for an educational survey. While some areas are served by more than the requisite number of schools some are neglected. Hence, as the Hon'ble Member pointed out endorsing the Special Finance Committee's recommendations, the expenditure on education is increasing by leaps and bounds, thus leading to the starvation of other ministering departments of the State. But Government have not been slow to make concrete proposals and the only delay that has now occurred is due to the fact that the revision has taken, with regard to this department, a little more time than was anticipated and the Inspectorate therefore had to wait for a few more weeks. Now proposals are being made to Government finally about this revision and the formation of the Inspectorate and I can assure this House that there will be no further delay in giving effect to this resolution.

4. Use of Road, Tank, etc.

President.—We will pass on to the next item.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Sir, my resolution is "This Council recommends to the Government that a Gazette notification be immediately issued to the effect that there shall be no prohibition for any class or caste among the people of Cochin to the use of any road, tank or well or other public place, maintained out of public funds, except it be for purposes of emergency as are authorised by the magistracy under the special powers of Criminal Procedure Code.'

It is a very bad thing, Sir, in these advanced days I have to bring a resolution before the Legislative Council to ask permission to walk through the roads. In a State which claims to to be the first and foremost in the matter of education, or say one of the first and foremost, that circumstances should have so compelled me to bring a resolution, that there should be no prohibition for all classes of people to walk through public roads and to use other public institutions such as tanks, wells and other things, shows the hollowness of our education. Cochin has been known as a caste-ridden State and Swami Vivekananda had occasion to say, not exactly referring to Cochin, but while referring to Malabar,—and Cochin forms the central part of Malabar—that Malabar is the madhouse of India. The lunatics that we find here are the religious lunatics steeped in superstition who would not permit a fellow-being to walk through the road and approach him. Sir, occasionally from the caste Hindu temples certain processions proceed along the road and they are in the habit of driving away people who are using those public roads. The police who are deputed to escort these processions are also impliedly authorised to drive away non-caste people from the road. This is nothing new. A series of questions

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have been asked on the floor of this House and the answer has been given by the Government that they are primarily deputed to see that no breach of peace take place, and if non-caste Hindus approach, breach of peace will occur and to avoid the breach of peace non-caste men will be necked out. That has been the result of the answers given to me. My resolution does not require many arguments to support it, because the very fact that public places like the public roads, etc., are not all thrown open to all classes of people shows that there is something radically wrong with us. Now let me ask, what is the right of any individual or any class to take his or their religion through public road and to insult another person? It is not merely the question of not allowing us to use one mile or half a mile of road. It is the insult that is involved in it that is revolting. When you say that such and such a non-caste man cannot walk through the road because by his coming near you are polluted and if the Government also gives their support to it, the stigma involved therein is much revolting. If the Magistrate issues an injunction or order that a particular road should not be used by any particular section for a certain period on account of some procession, that does not involve any stigma because it is so done for a particular emergency. That is why I have introduced the saving clause in the resolution which would entitle the District Magistrate and the Sub-Magistrates to issue temporary injunctions in suitable cases. But when you walk through the road the Para procession comes and you are simply asked to go out of the road. It affects our self-respect, it is that prohibition which is revolting and not the inconvenience alone.

There are also a number of tanks in Cochin. If you touch the water in it or go near them that water becomes impure. Then you make it pure by the mixing of cow dung or some such thing. By the touch of a human being your water is made impure and the purification is with cow dung. I am certain that the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer will say that the cow dung does not make it very pure. Sometimes that may contain germs or small worms. This is the sort of humiliation which you inflict upon a community which is perhaps 10 times your number. We have opened our eyes, and we have become conscious of our strength and the injustice that is done to us; and therefore it is that we have come forward to say that this sort of prohibition should be removed. There was a time in Cochin when certain notice boards used to be put up in public places to the effect that *theendal* castes are not allowed to walk along this road. I do not know whether those boards exist even now. Anyhow, several such roads exist

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even now. On the way to Trippunitturai—he road inside the Fort—we cannot make use of. I have heard it said that the Assistant Protector and his peon, who happened to be a Nayar then, both of them went to the Hill Palace and when both of them reached the Northern gate, the master had to walk along the outerside of the Fort and the peon through the inside and both of them met at the Eastern Gate. The peon was waiting for the master at the gate. What a humiliation it is? This does not speak very highly of us, that we should be still so very superstitious. I therefore request the Government that it is high time that the Government should remove these disabilities by a proclamation or by a gazette notification. I would request that His Highness would issue a proclamation that *theendal* has been abolished from the country. In the last Budget Session there was a cut motion moved by the Member for Ezhuvas' South which was accepted by the Government. The cut motion was to the effect that a request will be placed before His Highness to issue a proclamation abolishing *theendal* and that was accepted by the Government. I do not know whether the proposal was placed before His Highness and what His Highness' orders are upon that. I am sure, if the Government have placed the facts in the proper way before His Highness, His Highness would have certainly sanctioned the same. I request the present Government to issue an order or notification that public places should not be exclusively set apart for the use of any community. Cochin is a land of several exclusive privileges. We found yesterday a number of departments, Devaswam, Military, Palace, etc., exclusively set apart for caste-Hindus. Now you want the roads also. At least leave the roads to all. I request the Government would take this matter into their serious consideration because it affects the self-respect of a large community. It is not a matter to be lightly treated. In fact during the last 25 years among the Ezhuva community there was progress by leaps and bounds, and there is no community in Cochin, I should say, which has become so very enthusiastic and energetic about their communal affairs as the Ezhuvas. That is no doubt due to the efforts of the late Sri Narayana Guru Swami. I again request the Government to take the matter to serious consideration and issue a notification that *theendal* has been abolished and all public places are thrown open to all.

Mr. K. Mohamed Seethi.—I second the resolution. In doing so I may bring to the notice of the Government that more than the issuing of a proclamation extending equal privileges and equal facilities to all classes in the use of public amenities, the

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Government have to see that their officers enforce the orders issued by them. I am constrained to make this remark by the reference made by the mover of the resolution to the Para festival that we annually have in Ernakulam. I have heard complaints, that in the matter of the insult and humiliation heaped on the people at the time of the Para procession the Ezhuvas are not the only sufferers. All non-caste people including Muslims and Christians used to come under this humiliation at the time of the Para procession. I have heard that police constables belonging to caste-Hindu community used not only to connive at the assault on innocent passers-by but also used to actively participate in the molestation. I do not vouch for the veracity of these reports, but I might tell this House that they have come from reliable persons. I have brought this matter to the notice of the House by some interpellations last year.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—The Commissioner of Police admitted that. The constable was convicted for the assault.

Mr. K. Mohamed Seethi.—I know from people whose veracity I have no reason to question, that there were instances in which innocent people were insulted by constables and Goondas who form part of this procession. What I want to emphasise is that Government should be very vigilent over this matter even in places where there is no legal prohibition. There is actual prohibition on certain occasions and on these occasions Government should specially instruct their officers to put down with an iron-hand any attempt on the part of the Goondas to trouble people in the name of religion. With these words I second the resolution.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—In order that my amendments may come for discussion, I shall at this stage move my amendments. I propose the following amendments:—"(1) Omit 'tank or well or other public places'. (2) Insert before 'road' the word 'public.' (3) Insert at the end of the resolution and (2) that tanks and wells to be used by all classes and castes be constructed in places where necessity is felt for the same." The resolution as amended by me will read thus :—'This Council recommends to the Government that a Gazette Notification be immediately issued to the effect that there shall be no prohibition for any class or caste among the people of Cochin to the use of any public road maintained out of public funds except it be for purposes of emergency as are authorised by the magistracy under the special powers of the Criminal Procedure Code and that tanks and wells to be used by all classes and castes be constructed in places where necessity is felt for the same'.

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I am generally associated with a constituency that stands for all reactionary, conservative and stationary views. (*Hear, hear*). And I shall try my best to represent the views of my constituency whatever may be my personal predilictions and whatever may be my personal shortcomings with regard to my personal conduct in this matter. So far as public roads are concerned there is absolutely no meaning in driving away people from roads. These roads are constructed for the use of all classes of people and if anybody thinks he is polluted or any other man cannot approach him on the public road, it is for him to go away and to find out other ways and it is only proper that the conveniences and feelings of those who are asked to stand aside should be respected in this matter. So far they are within legal rights and all reasonable men will have absolutely no objection to throw open all public roads to all classes and if there is any public road upon which public money is spent, it has to be left open to all. (*Hear, hear*). So far as my information goes, there are only two such roads in the Cochin State now where all classes are not allowed to go. One is the Trippunittura Fort Road and the other is a short bit of the Irinjalakkuda road in front of the Kudalmanikkam temple. This subject of roads, wellsand tanks has come to the Council very often and in fact every year, and I think this Council has already passed a resolution last year that roads should be thrown open to all. In the case of the Irinjalakkuda road the suggestion then was that no more money should be given for repairs. I do not know how the matter stands now with regard to that road. The time has surely come for that. Then with regard to the Fort Road I feel rather nervous as to what I should say in this matter. That road is maintained for the Members of the Royal Family and if Their Highness' do not find any objection —mind it is entirely within the fort and almost a private road—other people will have absolutely no objection and the Government may throw open that road also. I am prepared to go so far in the matter of this resolution.

The resolution also contemplates that all wells and tanks should be thrown open to all classes of people. So far as that matter is concerned I regret I cannot go to the extent of accepting this resolution. No doubt, in the last meeting we have made a beginning that at least the youth of the country should be educated on cosmopolitan lines, and the resolution to start a cosmopolitan hostel was supported by me because the time has no doubt come to do something in that matter. The youth of the country should at least be brought up in an atmosphere of catholicity and equality. But when you go to the country now, what

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is the situation? The laudable ideal is to establish the equality of man. As far as God is concerned there is no partiality. In the Sermon on the Mount there is a declaration of human rights where everyman stood on an equal footing in the eyes of God. With all that, how much difference is found among the followers of Christ? Muhammed the holy prophet preached equality. Is there no difference amongst his followers? In the *Isha Vasya Upanishad* it is stated, all things are nothing but *Atman* and the ideal is to reach that oneness. This equality is the grand ideal of all religions; but the majority of the followers of all religions do not even think of an ideal and are carried away by the prevailing notions. If all the wells and tanks are to be thrown open to all, so far as my diagnosis goes, 90 per cent of the people now using these tanks and wells are not willing to accept this proposition and the Government will find it very difficult to carry out the resolution. Much force will have to be used, if this is to be carried to the very letter; of course the Government will have the necessary force and they may perhaps use it. The Government may even enforce it at the point of the sword. I don't think it is a very sane position to drive to that extent. In the course of a few generations, when the young men imbibed with the new ideals become the leaders of thought, I am sure, the desire of the Members for the Ezhuvas will be fulfilled. This is not a feature peculiar to the Hindus alone; why should the Muslims insist that a worshipper should wash himself in the tank adjoining every mosque before he begins his prayer in the mosque? Let us now see which are these wells and tanks which are not thrown open to all classes.

In answer to question No. 274, yesterday, a list of such wells and tanks was placed here and it is not a very long list, as some of you might seem to think. The first is Merry Lodge Palace; the Urakam Palace and we have got a number of palaces. These come to 63 in number. And the reasons of the exclusiveness are given for some of them but not for all. The reasons given are mainly (1) being intended to the exclusive use of the palaces;and (2) being intended to caste-Hindus, being the Trichur and Pattikkad Oottupura wells and tanks; and (3) the Vadakkancheri Hindu Staff Quarters, being intended for caste-Hindus. This Vadakkancheri Staff Quarter was a palace and was recently transferred as Staff Quarters. With regard to other items, the reasons are not given. That is the first list. There is another list of tanks and wells not open to all supplied by the Panchayat Department. That contains 124 wells and 25 tanks in all. That is not a big number. I think it is only proper that the feelings of a large number of people in this matter are

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respected at least for some time to come. And if the real difficulty is that these advocates of equality have now no tanks and wells, they may be constructed at public expense and it is for that that I have proposed to insert at the end of this resolution that tanks and wells to be used by all classes and castes be constructed in places where necessity is felt for the same. That solves the difficulty of inconvenience. If the objection is otherwise the Government may very well not interfere in these social matters for some time more and leave the problem to be solved by the evolution of time. It is an ideal thing, no doubt, when everybody will feel no difference. I am now citing some instances not to wound the feelings of the Member who moved the resolution, but to bring to his kind notice that there are practical difficulties in the way. In the Kurkancheri temple in Trichur belonging to the Ezhuvas, there was some trouble when the admission of the Depressed Classes to the temple was attempted and the people there divided themselves into opposite camps and difficulties were felt to administer equality.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—That is the first thing that we did.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Yes, that is what took place. That is what the Trichur Chairman tells us. If educated men cannot have sense of equality in the matter of appointments and want preference on communal lines, why should people less educated be blamed for not advocating equality?

Mr. M. K. Raman.—There are reactionaries among us also.

Mr. C A. Kunjunni Raja.—Exactly. We have to deal with such people also. In Cannanore, the police had to come to maintain order, when a proposal was made to admit the Depressed Classes into the temple there. For these reasons, I think, it is only proper to wait for some time and allow these amendments. I fully realise, the mover of the resolution revolts against the feeling of inferiority which is generally associated with this and it is not the want of convenience for bathing and drinking water that is responsible for this resolution. The resolution will only retard the progress of society if violence is used. They may say that they are superior. Why should this inferiority be accepted? If there are tanks and wells for convenience why should these insanitary tanks and wells, where cow dung is mixed for purification, be counted?

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Because it is ours also.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Because public funds are utilised, it does not follow that it belongs to the public. The funds may be for specific purposes. Otherwise if this is pushed to its logical conclusion, even in palaces built out of public funds,

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everybody can go and live because it is yours. The expenditure is intended for certain specified public purposes. So also some of these tanks and wells were constructed for particular communities. If you go into the history of some of these wells and tanks, it will be found these were dedicated on trust for the use of certain classes of people and it is not proper to divert the use of them. The Government of India is spending a large sum of money in the Ecclesiastical Department and all communities are not benefitted by that expenditure. Is the British Government to stop all on a sudden all that expenditure?

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Do you approve of it?

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Nothing turns on my approval or disapproval of that expenditure. I am only exposing the fallacy of your proposition. We have to take stock of the situation as practical men and see what other Governments are doing. We are not here as idealists. It is for these reasons that I move the amendment.

Dr. A. G. Menon.— I rise to second the amendment and in doing so I draw the attention of this House that in British India certain reservations are kept still now. We need not go far for examples. Take the Railway Department. Some years ago lavatories in the Railway Stations were reserved for "Gentlemen". Then Indian "Gentlemen" began to make use of them. Just to avoid the Indians, the sign board was changed and instead of "Gentlemen" "For Europeans" was inserted. In the Madras Presidency the separate section for Europeans in their Educational Department is another example. In the Palghat Municipality there are certain wells set apart for certain castes. This House passed the resolution for the establishment of cosmopolitan hostels in the State. There is a general awakening now. I am sure in course of time the desired effect will come unasked. But now, specially in a Native State, we must proceed slowly and prudently. There should not be a sudden change. I think we should be very cautious in introducing reforms of this nature. The sentiments of the orthodox section and the members of the Royal Family should be respected for the time being.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. കുഞ്ഞുമൊയ്തീൻ.—ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. ഈ വിഷയകമായി ഈ രണ്ടാം കൌൺസിലിന്റെ ജീവിതകാലത്തു തന്നെ പലതവണയും പലവിധത്തിലുള്ള വാദപ്രതിവാദങ്ങൾ കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ തന്നെ നാലൊ അഞ്ചൊ അവസരങ്ങളിൽ ഇതുപോലുള്ള പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിച്ചു സംസാരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. വീണ്ടും ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുവാൻ, എത്രതന്നെ സംസാരിച്ചാലും പറയത്തക്ക ഫലമൊന്നും കാണാ

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ത്ത ഈ സംഗതിയെപ്പറ്റി വീണ്ടും ആവർത്തിക്കാൻ, എനിക്കു വളരെ ലജ്ജയും സങ്കോചവും തോന്നുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ പരിഷ്കൃത കാലത്തു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെൻറു് ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇത്തരം വൈമനസ്യം കാണിക്കുന്നതു രാജ്യത്തിനൊ, ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനു തന്നെയുമൊ ഒട്ടും ഭ്രഷണമല്ലെന്നാണു് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം. പൊതു നിരത്തുകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം പറയത്തക്ക അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളൊന്നും ഇല്ല. ഒന്നൊ, രണ്ടൊ റോഡുകൾ മാത്രമെ പ്രവേശനം ഇല്ലാതെയുള്ളുവെന്നാണു് ഇവിടെനടന്ന പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും മനസ്സിലാകുന്നതു്. പ്രമേയകർത്താവു് റോഡുകളുടെ വിസ്താരമൊ, വലിപ്പമൊ നോക്കിയിട്ടല്ല മനുഷ്യനു സ്വതേയുള്ള പ്രാഥമികാവകാശ സ്ഥാപനത്തെ, അഭിമാനരക്ഷയെ കരുതിയാണു് പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നതെന്നു് യുക്തിയുക്തം ആദ്യമായി സമർത്ഥിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ രണ്ടാംസ്ഥാനത്തു നില്ക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെൻറു്, പലതരത്തിലും പരിഷ്കൃതമെന്നു കൊട്ടിഘോഷിക്കുന്ന ഗവൺമെൻറു്, ഇതുയുംതുച്ഛമായ ഒരു കാര്യത്തിൽ വാശിപിടിക്കുന്നതും വിപരീതം പറയുന്നതും ആശ്ചര്യമാണെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല.

ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ജെന്മിമെമ്പർ അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ ഭേദഗതി പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടു് പലസംഗതികളിലും യോജിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു ആദ്യം തോന്നിപ്പോകും. എന്നാൽ ആ ഭേദഗതി ശരിയായി പരിശോധിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിനുനേരെ വിപരീതമാണെന്നു മനസ്സിലാകും. റോഡിൻെറ കാര്യത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു വിപരീതാഭിപ്രായമില്ലെങ്കിൽ ചിലഒഴികഴിവുകൾ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുമോ. പാലസ്റോഡു്, ക്ഷേത്രസാമീപ്യമുള്ള ഇരിങ്ങാലക്കുടയിലെ ഒരു റോഡു് എന്നിവ പൊതുവിൽ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിനു് അദ്ദേഹം ചില പ്രതിബന്ധങ്ങൾ കാണുന്നു. ക്ഷേത്രസാമീപ്യമുള്ള റോഡിൻെറ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനുള്ള ധനം കൊടുക്കയില്ലെന്നു ഗവൺമെണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞതിനാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ അതു പബ്ലിക്ക്റോഡല്ല എന്നു സമർത്ഥിക്കാനാണു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ പുറപ്പാടു്. കുളങ്ങൾ, കിണറുകൾ, മുതലായവയുടെ കാര്യത്തിലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ വ്യക്തമായ അഭിപ്രായം പ്രമേയത്തിനു അനുകൂലമാണെന്നു പറയുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ സമ്മതിദായകന്മാരിൽ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിൻേറയും മനഃസ്ഥിതി നോക്കിയിട്ടാണു് അദ്ദേഹം ഈ പ്രസ്താവത്തിനു എതിരുപറയുന്നതെങ്കിലും അതു സ്വീകാര്യമാണെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. അന്യായമായ ഒരു അവകാശസ്ഥാപനത്തിനു് യഥാസ്ഥിതികന്മാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ നാം വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യം കാണുന്നില്ല. ഈ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിനെ പരിഹരിക്കുന്നതിനായി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ജന്മിമെംബർ ചില മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻെറ അഭിപ്രായപ്രകാരം ഓ

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രോ സമുദായക്കാരുടേയും ആവശ്യങ്ങളെ നിവ്വഹിക്കാൻ പ്രത്യേകം കളങ്ങളും, കണക്കുകളും ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കാമെന്നു വച്ചാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു വിഷ്മിക്കേണ്ടിവരും. ഇഴവർതന്നെ അവരുടെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും, ചില കളങ്ങളിലും അധഃകൃതരായ പുലയർ മുതലായവക്കു് പ്രവേശനം കൊടുക്കാറില്ല എന്ന ഒരു ന്യായവും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ സാധൂകരിക്കാനായി കൊണ്ടുവരികയുണ്ടായി. സവണ്ണർ ഇഴവരോടു് ഇപ്രകാരം വർത്തിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളം കാലം അവരുടെ വിഭാഗങ്ങളിലും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടാകാതിരിക്കയില്ല എന്നാണു് അതിനു ഞാൻ പറയുന്ന സമാധാനം. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഓരോ അവാന്തര വിഭാഗത്തിനും അത്യാവശ്യമല്ലാത്ത ഇത്തരം ആവശ്യം നിവ്വഹിക്കാമെന്നു തീരുമാനിച്ചാൽ ഗവമ്മെൻറിനു് അതിലേയ്ക്കു സമയമുണ്ടാവുകയുള്ളു. അനവധി പണവും ചിലവുചെയ്യേണ്ടിവരും. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഓരോ സമുദായക്കാക്കും പ്രത്യേകംപ്രത്യേകം ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതാതു സമുദായക്കാർതന്നെ നിവ്വഹിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ഗവമ്മെൻറു അതിൽ ഇടപെടേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. ഗവമ്മെൻറു എല്ലാവക്കും പൊതുവേയുള്ള സ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾമാത്രമെ ഏർപ്പെടുത്താവു. അതു് എല്ലാവക്കും, ഉപകാരയോഗ്യമാകത്തക്ക സൌകര്യവും ഗവമ്മെൻറു ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കണം. അതാണു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ കടമ. ഓരോ സമുദായത്തിനും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രത്യേകം ആവശ്യമുള്ളതു് മറെറാരു സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിമാനത്തെ ക്ഷതപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന യാതൊരു പ്രവൃത്തിയും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഒരുവിധത്തിലും ചെയ്യുവാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ല. അതു് അവരവർതന്നെ ചെയ്യട്ടെ. ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ പ്രത്യേകാവശ്യങ്ങൾ നിർവ്വഹിപ്പാൻ മിഷ്യനറി സംഘങ്ങളുണ്ടു്. ആ സമുദായത്തിനു വേണ്ടതു് അവർ ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുന്നു. മുസ്ലീങ്ങൾക്കു ആ സമുദായസ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യട്ടെ. അതുപോലെ സവണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു് പ്രത്യേകം വേണ്ടതു് ദേവസ്വം ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കട്ടെ. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഒരുസമുദായത്തിനും മറെറാരു സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അവകാശം അവഗണിച്ചു് ഒന്നും പ്രത്യേകമായി ചെയ്യരുതു്. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചിറയൻകീഴ്—തത്തമംഗലം മെംബർ ബ്രിട്ടീഷിന്ത്യയിൽ യൂറോപ്യന്മാർക്കുള്ള പ്രത്യേക അവകാശങ്ങളെ എടുത്തു കാണിച്ചു. അവിടെ അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു അനീതി നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആ അനീതി നാമും സ്വീകരിക്കണമെന്നാണൊ അദ്ദേഹം പറയുന്നതു്!! (Hear, hear). അവിടെ യൂറോപ്യന്മാർ കടന്നുകൂടി ജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തെ ഹനിച്ചു് അവക്കു പ്രത്യേകം പ്രത്യേകം വലിയ വലിയ അധികാരാവകാശങ്ങൾ അവർ കൈവശം വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതിനാലാണു് ഇന്നവിടെ സ്വരാജ്യവാദവും സത്യാഗ്രഹവും നിയമലംഘനവും പൊടിപൊടിക്കുന്നതു്. അതുപോ

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ലെ ഇവിടേയും ഒരു പ്രക്ഷോഭനം തുടങ്ങണമെന്നാണൊ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെംബർ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്?

ഡാക്ടർ എ. ജി. മേനോൻ.—അതു സ്ഥിതി കൊച്ചിയിൽ വന്നിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. കുഞ്ഞുമൊയ്തീൻ.—ഇപ്പോൾ സവർണ്ണർ പിടിച്ചടക്കിവച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അധികാരാവകാശങ്ങൾക്കായി ഇതരസമുദായക്കാർ ഇവിടെയും മേല്പറഞ്ഞപ്രകാരം വാദിക്കണമെന്നാണൊ മെംബർ അർത്ഥമാക്കുന്നത്? ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇന്ത്യ യൂറോപ്യന്മാരുടെ ഭരണത്തിലാകയാൽ അവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അവകാശസ്ഥാപനത്തിനായി ഇന്നു സഹകരണത്യാഗം മുതലായവ നടക്കുന്നു. അതുപോലെ ഇവിടത്തെ ഭരണം സവർണ്ണരുടെ കയ്യിലാകയാൽ അവർണ്ണരും അഹിന്തുക്കളും അവരുടെ സ്വരാജ്യത്തിനായും ഇവിടെ പ്രക്ഷോഭണം നടത്തണമൊ?

ഡാക്ടർ എ. ജി. മേനോൻ.—അല്ലാ, ഈ കാര്യങ്ങൾ സാധിച്ചു കിട്ടുന്നതിനു് സമയം വന്നിട്ടില്ലാ, എന്നുമാത്രമാണു് പറയുന്നതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. കുഞ്ഞുമൊയ്തീൻ.—ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെംബർ ആ സമുദായത്തിൽ നില്ക്കുമ്പോൾ അങ്ങിനെ തോന്നുന്നതിൽ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടാനില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ചു് ഈഴവമെംബർമാർ ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുമ്പോൾ അവരിൽ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന ക്ഷോഭവും നിരാശയും അവരുടെ വാക്കിലും മുഖത്തും സ്ഫുരിക്കുന്നുമുണ്ടു്. സവർണ്ണഹിന്തുക്കൾ വളരെ കാലമായി അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന അധികാരാവകാശങ്ങൾ വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കാൻ മടിയുണ്ടാകുന്നതു് മനുഷ്യസാധാരണമാണു്. മിസ്റ്റർ അയ്യപ്പന്റെ ഭാഷയിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ. ഇതെല്ലാം ഒരുതരം 'മാനസിക ഇക്കിൾ'തന്നെ. ഈഴവർ മുതലായവർ ഈ അസമത്വം അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും സവർണ്ണർ ഈ സൌജന്യങ്ങൾ കൈവശം വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിനാലും ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ അവർ രണ്ടുകൂട്ടർക്കും ഒരു നിഷ്പക്ഷനിലപാടവലംബിക്കാൻ കഴിയാതെവന്നേക്കാം. എന്നാൽ അത്തരം വിഷമതകളൊന്നുമില്ലാത്ത ഒരു സമുദായത്തിൽപെട്ട എനിക്കു് ഇതിൽ നിഷ്പക്ഷമായ ഒരഭിപ്രായം പറയാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടും ചില മെംബർമാരും ഇതിനു വിപരീതമായി പറയുന്ന അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ ഒട്ടും ആദരണീയമായി എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. അതിനാൽ മേലാൽ ഒരിക്കലും ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ ഒരു ആവലാധി ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകാതിരിക്കാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു കാര്യമായി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള അപേക്ഷയോടുകൂടി ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ബലമായി പിന്താങ്ങുന്നു.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—Sometime ago I introduced a resolution recommending the opening out of all public roads to all

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castes and creeds and that has been accepted by the Government. And I also know that the Government did act up to that. Very recently when this question arose somewhere near Mala, this particular resolution was referred to by the Diwan and he decided the issue accordingly. Under the circumstances, I cannot and do not think there exists in Cochin to-day any piece of public road not open to all people. If there is, it goes against the order of the Diwan. (*Hear, hear.*)

Again, Sir, as some of the Members referred to here, if it is a fact that non-caste people are not permitted to remain in the roads in Ernakulam when the Para procesion passes along, I dare say, it is an act in open violation of the principle and rule laid down by the Diwan recently. (*Hear, hear.*) If this practice is to be continued, it is better that the order is withdrawn. Otherwise, in effect it remains a dead-letter. Either it must be strictly followed and observed or it must be withdrawn.

Then, Sir, the Member for Jenmies was referring to some kind of logical conclusion. He said "if things are taken to a logical conclusion, it might so happen that all castes and creeds, would even demand an entrance to the palaces." I pity the poor sense of logic in him. Nothing can be more rediculous than this conclusion he has arrived at. I am sure there is no Cochinite disloyal enough to make such a demand. Whatever respect is due to the palace one and every one of us is always willing to show. Sir, we shall never grudge anything that is done for the comfort of the members of the Royal Family. (*Hear, hear.*) And Sir, it may be assured that if the road at Trippunittura is intented for the exclusive use of the members of the Royal Family, nobody demands an entrance to that road. But that portion of the road is open to all people except the non-caste Hindus. What does that show? It is not exclusively meant for the use of the palace Members. If, as palaces are used to-day, these roads are also used for their purposes only, we shall never make any demand to throw them open to all people. It may be openly said in this House, Sir, that there is not the least idea by means of this resolution to encroach upon the rights of the Royal Family. We shall be ever willing to show all possible respect towards them. If this road in question is to-day closed against the public and opened only to the Members of the Royal Family, there will not be a word of protest raised against such an act. On the other hand, if it is left open to the others as well, we really do not see how it can be closed against the non-caste Hindu subjects of His Highness our Maharaja.

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Sir, the proposal to get some of these roads hereafter maintained by private funds, does not solve the problem. It was constructed by public funds and they ought, therefore, to be considered as public roads only.

Then, Sir, as regards tanks and wells, I am inclined to take another view. The time has not come yet to ask for the removal of all reservations under this head. There is a practical side to all things. The present difficulties can be solved by accepting the amendment brought forward by the Member for Jenmies. The construction of new tanks and wells in such areas where they are required, for the common use of all communities will solve the problem. But to go beyond that and say you should throw open all the existing caste Hindu tanks and wells at a moment's notice, I am afraid, will be quite impractical. I, therefore, cannot support the whole resolution as such. But I support the same, subject to the amendment in this connection.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Sir, this vexed question has been coming rather too often on the floor of this House for discussion, and so far as this resolution is concerned the Hon'ble Member who moved the resolution himself stated that this is not the first time that this question has been discussed. And it is a pity that this resolution should come in as often as it comes here in the form in which it is put by the Ezhuva Member. I am in hearty support of the amendment proposed by the Member for Land-holders, because to me it appears, that that is a practical way of solving any inconveniences felt by any community whatever, so far as inconveniences are concerned. But the Hon'ble Member who moved the resolution did not show his readiness to accept the amendment and stop any further discussion of the resolution itself. I am sorry that he does not find his way to do it. It shows that it is not the question of convenience that is troubling him, as he himself points out. It is the question of humiliation, the so-called discrimination that is now existing so as far these tanks, wells and other places are concerned. I shall confine my remarks to tanks and wells before I deal with other places, because so far as the road question is concerned the amendment proposes to remove whatever difficulty existing now. I am in hearty support of the amendment. Now regarding tanks and wells: the Hon'ble Member supposes that if a particular tank is maintained out of public funds, it should be open to all. I cannot understand what he understands by the term public. Any money that goes out of State revenue for maintaining any institution is public. Any money that goes out of State revenue to maintain an institution which is intended for a section of the public is public. That

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distinction my friend the Hon'ble Member will have to understand. Supposing in a particular village, I take a Brahmin Agraharam, for example. There is a colony of Brahmins there: they are using a tank located in that colony they have been paying taxes and they have been the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja; and for their convenience and for their exclusive use a particular tank has been in existence and there has been no occasion for anybody else to use the particular tank and that community alone is using it. If anybody else goes and says, "This tank is maintained out of public funds. You alone have not the exclusive right of using it. I am also going to bathe in that tank". What would be the result? We have to understand these things in a broad spirit. It cannot be said that they are not part of the public. The object of this resolution, if you only analyse it, is to remove the caste system altogether. That would be the result. If it is advisable and if it is practicable, by all means, do it. I don't think that it is advisable or practical. The system has been going, I don't know for how many centuries and probably Cochin is not the only place where we perpetuate that system. It is prevalent throughout the world. You find it not only in India. You find it everywhere, even in the European countries, in the United States of America; and in South Africa the caste system is prevailing. You may call it by different names. It is the racial prejudice. What is the colour prejudice that is prevailing in South Africa? How do you account for the lynching system that is prevailing in the United States of America. No doubt there are certain iniquities to be removed and it is our duty to remove all these. But to say that there should be a mingling of all people together, and to say that if you don't bathe in a particular tank which is intended for all, you must go without bathing or you must make your own convenience for that, is rather too much. If a particular tank or a particular well has been utilised and from its very situation it can be used by a particular community why should you say that they must be thrown open to all? I can understand that you must have equal privileges. But if you want that very tank, I cannot understand it. If you want to bathe and if a tank can be constructed out of public funds, why cannot you be satisfied? It is there that the question of humiliation comes in. You are making much of that sentiment. There are other people who have their feelings. Let there be give and take. I can understand your claim for equal privileges. The Government is trying their best to do it. Why should you all at once come and say, 'Let there be no difference of caste or creed, let the Brahmins be brought down to the

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level of the Panchama; or the Panchama be raised to the level of the Brahmins?" It may take centuries and there may be difficulties. So far as these difficulties are concerned, we shall try to solve them, not by bringing that man to his level, but by education and by providing a series of conveniences, for example, free scholarships, night schools and so many others that are given at present which other people have not now. And I ask you what is the constitution of the Legislative Council itself? You have got a constituency for North Ezhuvas, the South Ezhuvas, the Mussalmans and the Jews. Why this caste distinction? Are you willing to give up all these special constituencies reserved for all these separate communities?

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Broaden the Franchise.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Is not the franchise broadened now? All right. Broaden. But whoever proposes to bring in such a bill and tries to do away with all these distinctions? You want to have these distinctions. Probably it is to your advantage. So far as some small privileges—which after all may not be privileges but only slight conveniences, which other communities have been enjoying for some time, why do you stand up to remove? What would be the result? The Hon'ble Members should please consider the practical side of the proposition also. When you find that the British Government which is not standing for any caste or any creed, is itself unable to solve that problem, so far as the whole of the British India is concerned, what is the meaning of our going and pressing it to its absolutely logical conclusion? Then with reference to the roads: Even when the roads are public roads, we know, as a matter of fact, every religious community has its right to take its procession and conduct its festivals along public roads. And if there is a likelihood of a breach of peace, there is a saving clause; My friend concedes it; he himself says that the District Magistrate, if he apprehends breach of peace, may at once stop the use of the road, for the time being, by other people. That is what we see in North India. Every community has got a right to take its processions The 'ഒഴിവ്' taking referred to by previous speakers is nothing but a religious procession. There is absolutely no inconvenience so far as the tanks and wells are concerned. After all the use is only limited. Wherever you want tanks or wells have them. The State will be only willing to give you all the conveniences which other communities also are enjoying. Why do you want the same privileges? Because it is humiliating you should not reserve it; we should be allowed to touch it. Now as far as this is concerned that is not the only way to look at it.

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മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—സർ, ഈ നിശ്ചയം ഈഴവർ മുതലായ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ അഭിമാനസംരക്ഷക്കുവേണ്ടി മാത്രമുള്ളതല്ല. ആ നിലയിൽ നിന്നുകൊണ്ടു് മെംബർമാർ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെ നിരുപണം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനാൽ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന അബദ്ധമാണ് ഇതിനുമുമ്പു കേട്ട പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം നിഴലിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ സർവ്വ ജാതിക്കാരുടേയും അഭിമാനത്തെ രക്ഷിക്കാനുള്ള ഒരു നിശ്ചയമാണിതു്. ഈഴവരിൽതന്നെ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തിനു എതിരായി ഒരു ഭാഗക്കാർ ഉണ്ടായേക്കാം. പുലയരേക്കാൾ അവശത കുടിയവരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം പുലയരിലും മറിലർ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെ എതിർക്കാം. യാഥാസ്ഥിതികന്മാർ ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കാം. ഈ നായന്മാരിൽനിന്നൊ മറ്റൊ വരേണ്ട ഒരു നിശ്ചയമാണ്. ഇതു് ഇവിടെ ജന്മിമെംബറൊ, തുല്യിവപേരുർ മെംബറൊ, വെള്ളാരപ്പിള്ളിമെംബറൊ കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ടതായിരുന്നു. അവർ ആരും ചെയ്യാത്തതിനാലാണു് ഈഴവമെംബർ കൊണ്ടുവരാൻ സംഗതിയായതു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ അനാവശ്യമായ പ്രിവിലേജ്, അനാവശ്യമായ ആചാരങ്ങൾ, അനാവശ്യമായ വ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ കളയാനായിട്ടു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ പ്രേരിപ്പിക്കാനായി എല്ലാ സമുദായത്തിലും ഉള്ള പരിഷ്കൃതാശയരായ അംഗങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ട ഒരു നിശ്ചയമാണിതു്. ഇങ്ങിനെ ശരിയായ പരിഷ്കാരമുള്ള രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ജപ്പാനിൽ താണജാതിക്കാരെ സ്വതന്ത്രരാക്കാൻ ശ്രമിച്ചതു് താണജാതിക്കാരായിരുന്നില്ല. അമേരിക്കയിൽ അടിമകളുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യസ്ഥാപനത്തിനായി ഒരു സിവിൽ വാർതന്നെയും നടത്തിയതു് അടിമകളല്ല. അങ്ങിനത്തെ മനസ്ഥിതി ഇവിടെ കാണാത്തതു അത്ഭുതമാണ്. നമ്മുടെ സ്വരാജ്യം പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നതെന്തിനു്? സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നതെന്തിനു? മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധിയെ ജയിലിൽനിന്നും വിട്ടതിനെപ്പറ്റി. ബീച്ചിൽ പൊതുയോഗം കൂടുന്നു എന്നു വെയ്ക്കുക. ഇന്നിവിടെ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെ എതിർത്തവർതന്നെ യൂറോപ്യന്മാരുടെ അഴിമതികളെ ഒന്നിനുമേൽ ഒന്നായി എടുത്തു് അവിടെ പ്രസംഗിക്കും. ഇപ്പോൾ ആ യൂറോപ്യന്മാരുടെ അഴിമതികളെത്തന്നെ എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടുവന്നു് ഉദാഹരണമായി കാണിച്ചു് ഞങ്ങളെ തോല്പിക്കാൻ നോക്കുന്നു. ഇതാണോ നിങ്ങളുടെ സ്വരാജ്യസ്നേഹം? ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിൽ എഡിൻബറ്റ്റിലെ ഹോട്ടലുകളിൽ ഇന്ത്യക്കാർക്കു പ്രവേശനം ഇല്ലാഞ്ഞിട്ടു് അവിടെ ചിലർ പ്രൈംമിനിസ്റ്റർക്കു എഴുതി. പ്രൈംമിനിസ്റ്റർ വേണ്ട നടപടി നടത്തി. ഇവിടെ അങ്ങിനെ വല്ല വാദവും വന്നാൽ നിങ്ങളെല്ലാം സ്തംഭിച്ചു വീഴുന്നതാണു്. ഇവിടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുവക റോഡും കിണറും കുളവും പോലും പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കു എല്ലാം പ്രവേശനമുള്ളതാക്കുന്നതു അനാവശ്യവും അപ്രയോഗികവുമാണെന്നു് ഇവിടത്തെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു വാദിക്കുന്നു. അവിടെ പ്രൈ

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വാര ഹോട്ടലുകളിൽ പോലും എല്ലാവക്കും പ്രവേശനം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ഉത്സാഹിക്കുന്നു. ഇവിടത്തെ സ്ഥിതി നേരെ മറിച്ചു്. വെള്ളക്കാരുടെ ഈ വിധമുള്ള നല്ലനല്ല വശങ്ങളെ പകർത്താതെ അവരുടെ ന്യൂനതകളേയും തോന്ന്യാസങ്ങളേയും പകർത്താനല്ല ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടതു്. അവക്കു എന്തെല്ലാം ഗുണങ്ങളുണ്ടു്. ആ ഗുണങ്ങളെ അനുകരിക്കാതെ അവക്കു ഏതെല്ലാം കുറവുകളുണ്ടോ അതെല്ലാം പകർത്താൻ ആരും ആലോചിക്കരുതു്. ഇവിടെയിരിക്കുന്ന മെഡിക്കൽ മേലധികാരിയുടെ പക്കൽ ഒരു രോഗി ചെന്നാൽ 'നീ എന്തിനാണു് ഇവിടെ വന്നതു്', വടക്കേതിലും ഒരു രോഗിയുണ്ടു്" എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു അയച്ചാൽ എങ്ങിനെയിരിക്കും അതുപോലെയിരിക്കുന്നു. പുറത്തു യൂറോപ്യന്മാർ ഇങ്ങിനെ കാണിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടെ നമ്മളും ഇങ്ങിനെ കാണിച്ചാൽ മതിയെന്നു പറയുന്നതു്. ഇതൊക്കെ പല ജാതിക്കാരുടെ പ്രിവിലേജസ് ആണെന്നു പറയുന്നതു ശരിയല്ല. ഈ പ്രിവിലേജസ് കൊണ്ടു അവക്കു് എത്ര പ്രയോജനമാണുള്ളതു. ഈവക സമ്പ്രദായങ്ങൾ വളരെക്കാലമായ ആചാരമായതുകൊണ്ടു് പെട്ടെന്നു കളയുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ലെന്നു പറയാൻ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടു് കാലം വളരെയായി. പരശുരാമന്റെ കാലം മുതൽ ഇങ്ങിനെ പാഞ്ഞുതുടങ്ങിയതാണു്. ഇതിനു് ഒരു അന്തവും വേണ്ടേ? ഒരു നിശ്ചയത്തിൽ പറയുന്ന മാതിരി ഒരു കല്പന ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന ഒരു വിഷമം പറയാം. ഇപ്പോൾ രണ്ടു റോഡുകളിൽ പ്രവേശനം ഇല്ലെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു. മറ്റു പല റോഡുകളിലും കൂടെ ഒരുഴവർ പോകുമ്പോൾ നായന്മാർ തടയും. പുലയരാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരുഴവർ തടയും. ഉടനെ അടിപിടിയുണ്ടാകും. ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷിക്കാൻപോകുന്നതു നായർപോലീസുകാരനായിരിക്കും. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ പോലീസുകാർ ആയിരിക്കും. റിപ്പോർട്ടുചെയ്യുന്നതു് ഉപദ്രവിച്ചു ആളുടെ വശത്തുനിന്നു കൊണ്ടായിരിക്കും. കോടതിയിൽ വരുമ്പോൾ നായരോ ബ്രാഹ്മണനോ ആയിരിക്കും വിധിക്കുന്നതു്. അവരുടെ വിധി എപ്രകാരമായിരിക്കുമെന്നു് പ്രത്യേകം പറയേണ്ടതില്ലല്ലോ. ഒരുവകസംഗതികളിൽ പക്ഷപാതമായി വിധി കല്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അനുഭവങ്ങളും വളരെയുണ്ടു്. ജനങ്ങളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളും എ. യുടെയോ ബി. യുടെയോ ഇഷ്ടംപോലെ തീരുമാനിക്കാൻ വിട്ടുകൂടാ. 'പബ്ലിക്കായിട്ടുള്ള ശാസനകളും' കൊണ്ടു' സുരക്ഷിതമാക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ഇതു പുലയരുടെകായ്മയല്ല; ഈഴവരുടെകായ്മയല്ല. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ കായ്മാണു്. നിങ്ങൾക്കു് അര കാശിന്റെ നഷ്ടമുള്ളതല്ല. അന്ധവിശ്വാസത്തിൽനിന്നും നാട്ടുകാരെ കരകയറുക! നാട്ടുകാരെ അതിൽനിന്നുംമോചിപ്പിക്കുക! ബ്രാഹ്മണർ അന്ധവിശ്വാസക്കുണ്ടിൽ ആണ്ടുകിടക്കുന്നു. അവരെയും പിടിച്ചുകയറുക. അരമുഴം റോഡിനുവേ

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ണ്ടിയുംമറുമല്ല ഞങ്ങൾ വാദിക്കുന്നത്. പൊതുവെ ജനങ്ങളുടെയെല്ലാം ഗുണത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ളതാണ് ഒരു വാദം. ഇവിടത്തെ എല്ലാ ജനങ്ങൾക്കും അവരുടെ കഴിവുകൾ വികസിപ്പിക്കാൻ സൌകര്യം കിട്ടത്തക്കവിധത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു സമസ്ഥിതി വരുത്താനാണ് ഒരുവക വാദം ഞങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുന്നത്. തങ്ങൾക്കു ഒരു നിശ്ചയത്തിലെ കായ്ത്തിനു വിരോധമില്ല, ജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതിയോത്തിട്ടാണ് തങ്ങൾ ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു എന്നു ചിലർ പറയുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതല്ലേ ജനങ്ങളും കേട്ടു പഠിക്കയുള്ളൂ? നിങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞാൽ പുറത്തുള്ളവരുടെ മനസ്ഥിതി എങ്ങിനെ ശരിയാകും! ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു ഒരു കല്പന പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചാൽ ജനങ്ങൾ സമ്മതിക്കതന്നെ ചെയ്യും. ചില കുളങ്ങളും കിണറുകളും സംബന്ധിച്ചു അഥവാ ക്ഷോഭമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുവന്നാൽ തന്നെയും അതു എല്ലാ കുളങ്ങളെയും കിണറുകളെയും സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുന്നതു ശരിയല്ല. ഇവിടെ ഒരു നിശ്ചയം പസ്സാക്കിയാൽ അതേപടി ഉടനെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു നടപ്പാക്കണമെന്നു നിർബന്ധമില്ല. ഈ നിശ്ചയം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ യുക്തംപോലെ നടപ്പാക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. ഒരു നിശ്ചയം പാസ്സായിക്കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ശക്തി ഉപയോഗിച്ചു് അതു നടപ്പാക്കാൻ കാലമായിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്നാണ് നോക്കാനുള്ളതു്. ഒരു വലിയ കായ്ത്തിനുണ്ടോ, ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി, എന്തുകൊണ്ടു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അധികാരം ഉപയോഗിച്ചുകൂടാ? അമ്മേരിക്കയിൽ ലിങ്കൺ അടിമകളെ മോചിപ്പിക്കാൻവേണ്ടി സൈന്യശക്തി ഉപയോഗിച്ചില്ലെ? പിന്നെ എന്തുകൊണ്ടു ഇവിടെ പോലീസിനെ എങ്കിലും ഉപയോഗിച്ചുകൂടാ? നമ്മുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നമുക്കു് ഇതിനൊക്കെ വേണ്ട വിശാലമനസ്ഥിതിയും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യപ്രസക്തിയും തരുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ നമ്മുടെ സർവ്വകലാശാലകൾ കൊണ്ടു് എന്തുപ്രയോജനമാണുള്ളതു? ഇവിടെ പൊതുവായ ഒരു കായ്യം കൊണ്ടുവന്നാലും ഉടനെ അതു സാമുദായികമാകും. ഇതു സാമുദായിക കായ്യമാണൊ? രാജ്യത്തുള്ള എല്ലാവരെയും സംബന്ധിക്കുന്ന കായ്യം. മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രജകളെ സമന്മാരാക്കുന്ന കായ്യം. പൊതുസ്ഥാപനങ്ങളെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതിൽ പാലസും പെടുംപോലും! അതെന്തൊരു കഥയില്ലാത്ത യുക്തിയാണ്. ആരെങ്കിലും ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടൊ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെയൊ രാജകുടുംബാംഗങ്ങളുടെയൊ കൊട്ടാരങ്ങളിൽ പോയി താമസിക്കണമെന്നു"! ഒരു നിശ്ചയത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഈവക യുക്തികൾ പറയുന്നതു് പറയുന്നവരുടെ ബുദ്ധിയെത്തന്നെ അപമാനിക്കയല്ലെ ചെയ്യുന്നതു"! പൊതുസ്ഥലങ്ങൾ എന്നുംപറഞ്ഞു് കൊട്ടാരത്തിൽ കയറിച്ചെല്ലാൻ ആരെങ്കിലും ഒരുങ്ങുന്നുണ്ടൊ? നിങ്ങൾ നിങ്ങളുടെ കൈയിലടക്കിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അധികാരമെടുത്തു് ഞങ്ങളെ

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ചവിട്ടിക്കൂട്ടുക. പക്ഷെ ഇനിയും ഞങ്ങൾ ചവിട്ട് അനുഗ്രഹമായി കരുതുകയില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾക്കും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സിദ്ധിച്ചു. നിങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നതുകേട്ട മയങ്ങുന്ന കാലം കഴിഞ്ഞുപോയി. നിങ്ങളുടെ സംസ്കൃതശ്ലോകങ്ങളും ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്പദങ്ങളും വെറും തട്ടിപ്പുകൾ, അബദ്ധങ്ങൾ അണെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു മനസ്സിലായി. യാതൊരാളെയും ഉപദ്രവിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശംകൂടാതെ ന്യായമായ കാര്യത്തിനാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ വാദിക്കുന്നത്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഒരു ഫലവും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ലെന്നു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുക. ഒരു രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഉള്ളിൽ ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ശക്തിയായ വേദന കടന്നുകൂടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതു വെറുതെപോകയില്ല. ഒരു റോഡിൽകൂടി, പബ്ലിക്കുറോഡിൽകൂടി നടക്കരുതെന്ന് എന്നോടു പറഞ്ഞാൽ എനിക്കു വേദന ഉണ്ടാകയില്ലെ? നായർക്ക് അതിലെ പോകാം, ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കും പോകാം. അവരേക്കാൾ ഒന്നുകൊണ്ടും താണവനല്ലാത്ത എനിക്കു അതിലെകൂടി നടന്നുകൂടെങ്കിൽ അതു് എനിക്കു അപമാനമല്ലെ? ഒരു അപമാനബോധം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പരക്കെയുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഒന്നുമില്ലെന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു എങ്കിൽ വിചാരിച്ചുകൊള്ളുക. അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാർ എല്ലാവരും ഒരു നിശ്ചയം സ്വീകരിച്ചു് ഇതു് നടപ്പാക്കാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ കൈ ശക്തിപ്പെടുത്തുക എന്നു ഞാൻ അവരോടപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ വേണം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ധൈര്യപ്പെടുത്താൻ. ജന്മിമെമ്പർ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഭേദഗതിയെ പിൻവലിക്കണം. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഭേദഗതികൊണ്ടു് നിശ്ചയത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം തീരെ പൊയ്പോകുന്നു. ഒരുവക വിട്ടു പ്രയോഗിക്കാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനുള്ള സാമർത്ഥ്യം ഒന്നു വേറെതന്നെയാണ്. അയിത്തമില്ലാതാക്കുന്നതിനെപ്പറ്റി ബഡ്ജറ്റുസെഷനിൽ എന്റെ ഒരു കട്മോഷൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു സ്വീകരിക്കയുണ്ടായി. അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഭേദമായിട്ടു് ഇതേവരെ മറുപടിയൊന്നുമില്ല. ഏതായാലും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു ഇഷ്ടംപോലെയെ ചെയ്യുകയുള്ളു. നമുക്കു ഇവിടെ പറയാനുള്ളതു പറയുക. പൊതുവെയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനും അറിയാം. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു സൌകര്യംപോലെ, ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഔചിത്യംപോലെ ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. നമുക്കു പറയാനുള്ളതു പറയാം. ദയവായി ഫസ്റ്റ അണക്കും വാദിക്കാം. ഫർ അണയെങ്കിലും വകവച്ചുതന്നാൽ കാര്യമായി. ഞാൻ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെ അനുകൂലിച്ചു ഭേദഗതിയെ എതിർക്കുന്നു.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Sir, if I violate the sanguine principle that has been imposed upon myself, not to participate in these kinds of discussions, it is due to two reasons. One is that an appeal has been made by the previous speaker that this resolution ought to have been placed before this Council by one of the three members and the Hon'ble Member has included my

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name also as one among the three. As the Member for Trichur has a peculiarity to say what he thought, he only presents such cases before this Council which are practicable. He also considers it his duty not only to speak but also to act up to them. I am one of those who thought and who acted accordingly. Considering the various aspects of this question, I think that the time has not come to induce the people of this country to take up the proposed step. I know to-morrow there will be an abuse of me as was done last year. But I even now think that the general opinion of the public may not be able to support this view. I cannot believe that I am in a position to influence them to accept this view. It is reasons like these that prompt me to keep quiet. I may assure the House that with the dawn of a little knowledge in my mind I have, consciously or unconsciously, most probably unconsciously, considered absurd many of the rules on which such complaints are raised in this House. But as the Member for Jenmies said each Member is not speaking for himself. As I have already said the function of this Council is only an advisory function. I do not attach any importance to the votes of this House. I also consider it proper, if ever occasion arises, to present all the new points on every side of the problem to the administrator. This is a most important occasion. Whether our advice is useful or not, I honestly advice the present administration that in intricate social matters, which baffle even Indian reformers, it should be very careful in handling. All the aspects of the problem should be placed before the present Administrator so that if he could move in the right direction and produce beneficial results he may do so. It is these two reasons that has prompted me to violate the principle I have laid down for myself and for my guidance.

Sir, if there is one thing that I do not like any person it is that of speaking theoretically and not acting up to the theory. People who come forward and advocate reforms of such a far reaching nature must themselves set an example so that others may follow it. I just now put a question to my friend Mr. Seethi who is sitting in front of me why there should be any objection for anybody in going through the front of a Mosque with drums beating and why any reasonable Hindu should object to a cow being killed. Mr. Seethi has no great objection for a procession to go through the front of a mosque with drums beating nor have I any greater objection to a cow being killed than the killing of a sheep or any other innocent animal. But that does not solve the difficulty. Unfortunately the population does not consist of many Seethis and myself. We have to deal with a

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population which do not recognise or do not understand the implications, far-reaching implications, and the healthy changes that would be brought about by the introduction of such reforms. That is our great difficulty. I think that these gentlemen will understand me properly and do not consider that I am opposing this resolution. We have to consider all these things. As I have observed before in this House, in a matter like this few Governments can interfere and our Government the least. In spite of all this paraphernalia it must be admitted that the Government of Cochin is a nominated Government and is not based on the broad foundation of popular franchise. The element of irresponsibility is responsible for the bringing in of these resolutions. For I cannot conceive that if, by any change in the wheel of fortune, my friend has become the Diwan or the Prime Minister he will be able to rush through this piece of reform and I know that he will be perfectly incapable for that. That shows the irresponsibility of the Council which produces irresponsible resolutions which are impracticable. Thus the Government, as I observed, not being based on the broad foundations of franchise of the people, must be very careful in moving matters social.

I lay down another principle. Last year I said that it is the duty of the people, who come here as representatives of the people, to go about their constituencies and to bring about a healthy change in the view point of the people. When they are satisfied for bringing in such a change then they should come before this Council and advise the Government that we have succeeded in changing the mentality of the people in the right direction and that the Government should take the necessary measures to translate this into action. I ask this question, whether after the discussion of last year my friend who moved the resolution did anything in the matter. Had any other gentlemen sitting here done anything in the matter? What is the use of coming here to preach so many ideals and going home for looking after one's own work? Is it fair? Is it right? We must educate the public mind and then say to the Government that here is a population ready for a change. Then, if the Government do not take heed to our advice, every body will think that it is an obstinate Government who, in spite of the repeated demands of this House to introduce this reform, refuses to do so. Let me now give you an instance how, by a change of the public view, we were able to give effect to the spirit of the resolution in Trichur. As you all know in the Trichur Municipality we keep a large number of tanks reserved for certain communities. There are tanks for the caste Hindus, there is a

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tank for the Muhammadan population, there is a tank for the so-called backward communities—I understand from Mr. Ayyappan's speech that they are not backward and I do not like that statement to be made hereafter in this House—the Thiyya community has got a tank and the Christians have tanks of their own. That has been the principle. You have to understand that the tanks were handed over to the Municipality under such conditions. The Hon'ble Members should understand that whenever the Municipality has realised the change in the people's outlook they were not slow to take advantage of the change. We have opened a very good tank for the public use. We call it the 'Public Tank'. There is no reservation. To-day in this tank all communities are bathing—Muhammadan, Hindu, Christian and all others are bathing. And we are proposing to open another tank next year. We also propose it to be made a public tank without any reservation. Therefore you see that such a day has come so far as Trichur is concerned. Education has produced such a change in those people. As far as possible we must try to remove all the inconveniences of the various sections of the population. You must produce such a moral effect upon the people. If you do that then you must come and advise the Government to do this. All that has been said regarding the inconveniences of the people in not being allowed to bathe in or to take water from a particular well or tank is quite imaginary and do not exist at all. You are not certainly independent in this matter; you have to place before the Government the view point of the people. Perhaps this attitude of mine may be seen criticised in papers to-morrow. My request to those who write articles is not to misrepresent those who give sincere advice in matters like this. There are certain people who are editors of newspaper and who write criticisms based upon ignorant, and intentional twisting of, facts placed before the Council. That is one of my advices. The second advice is to try to bring about a change in the people's view point. Do not think that we are less patriotic or less nationalistic than any of you. We are equally at one with you. You all remember that we unanimously supported in the matter of throwing open the Hostel to all. We unanimously supported it because we found out that the people who are to be affected by the change have reached such a stage of development and that they will accept the change in the spirit in which it was proposed and passed and accepted by the Government. These are the only two observations I would like to make in this connection. I will again implore my friend sitting over there that

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he will not abuse the privilege of the newspaper in attacking me as he did last year.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Sir, the very regularity with which this topic crops up in this House, I believe, on an average once in 8 or 8½ months, shows that there is a problem to be solved and that perhaps the method adopted in solving that problem is not exactly suited for the problem itself. I believe when last time this question came up before this House there was equal, if not more, heat displayed on the floor of the House and that the debate took much the lines that to-day's debate is taking. I also remember that an amendment more or less on the same lines hailed from the same quarters.

I must candidly say that while I appreciate the view point expressed so emphatically by the representatives of the Ezhuva community and the Muslim community, while I am entirely at one with them in their solicitude for upholding the sense of self-respect of members of those communities, while I cannot imagine any adequate reason for preventing a Thiyya or any one of His Highness' subjects, to whatever creed or class he may belong, from walking along public roads when members of other communities and their domestic animals are freely allowed to walk along these roads, and while I cannot understand the real reason for making this sort of invidious distinction, I still adhere, as regards the second part of the resolution, to the view which I expressed when the same resolution came up for discussion last time, namely, that we must, living as we are in a State whose population consists of various castes and creeds with various aims, claims, aspirations, notions and superstitions, we must realise that we must live and let live. I do not know if I am exposing myself to criticism; but even if I am, I do not care. I maintain that we cannot ignore the fact that when we are asking for rights and when we are asking for respect for sentiment we must remember that others have rights and others have sentiments. (*Hear, hear.*) We cannot ignore that what we think as superstitions are in the eyes of others holy obligations. There is a great amount of ignorance in this world. You cannot dispel all that ignorance over night. It takes time. As the Hon'ble Member for Trichur said it is up to us to go about the country and educate public opinion so that this resistance to the dispelling of ignorance and superstition may be weakened; we may then be in a position honestly to come to this House and say that these superstitions are ready to be abolished and removed. Until that has been done, the question is whether we shall be justified to say that the country is ripe and ready to receive the radical treatment,

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(*Hear, hear.*) I had occasion a few months ago to say that we must remember that there is a distinction between reasonable expectations of a fair enjoyment of public utilities on the one hand and persistent and dogged insistence upon pulling at the same bone on the other. Take for instance the case of a well situated in a Brahmin colony.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Take any other tank. Why do you take the difficult one only ?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—I shall convince you. There may be 20 Brahmin houses using that well. There may be a lane leading to that colony, even a public lane. That well might not have been cleaned for ages together. The Brahmins living around that well would firmly stand by it. There is that well. There never was a member of any community other than the Brahmin at the locality. By and by a Christan, Muslim or an Ezhuva settles down within half a mile of that Agraharam. He wants water and he finds that well. Would it be reasonable for him to insist upon taking water from that well against the sentiments of a community who consider any such interference an absolute profanation ? Why not let them use it and try to get another good and modern well for his use? Is it reasonable to say that he does not want any other well, that he wants that well and that well alone? I cannot understand that attitude. With all sympathy, I might say I am as sympathetic to the aspirations of these gentlemen as themselves. I cannot understand that. So far as we are living here as various communities we cannot ignore facts. We must respect other sentiments and self-repect as much as we want our sentiments and self-respect to be respected by others. (*Hear, hear*). Let it not be understood that I am running down in the least bit the legitimate claims of any community much less those of the depressed or backward classes. I may say that I was returned unanimously by all sections of my constituency and I consider it my duty to endeavour to safeguard the legitimate claims of one and all of them. I know there are communities which are labouring under very serious difficulties.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—You are also labouring!

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Yes ; I am also labouring under difficulties. Every one is labouring. But there must be such a thing as give and take between all communities. I exhort the Hon'ble Member who has moved the resolution to accept the amendment of Mr. Raja. One thing I would say in this connection. The whole trouble seems to be based upon the suspicion that sympathetic promises have been rightly made on the floor of this House and left unfulfilled. Promises should

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not be lightly made and when made must be scrupulously fulfilled. (*Hear, hear*). If you, the Government, have no mind to fulfil the promises made, never make them. I exhort the Government to make every endeavour to meet the requirements of all communities. If that is done and done earnestly, I hope this resolution will never more turn up in this House, much to the satisfaction alike of the people and of the Government of this state.

The House rose for lunch at 4" past 2 p. m. and reassembled at 3 p. m. with the President in the Chair.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, this resolution is a very important resolution. It has, as the Hon'ble Member for south Ezhuvas has remarked, very far-reaching importance and as such it should be viewed with all the seriousness and with all the repercussions that it may cause not only inside our State but even outside it. But the one difficulty and the fallacy escapes attention. We are not here in this country as members of various grades of one single cummunity. We are here as members of distinct communities. There is no such thing as a political community yet well evolved in India, or in the State. That is the difficulty. We are trying by means of elections, by means of the exercise of franchise, by means of parliamentary institutions being established here, to move towards that entity of nationalism, which consists of one single community. We have not yet reached that stage when persons who have been thinking that they were members of a particular community by mere force of circumstances shed their communal ideas and merge in national entity. That is the case in England. In England, for instance, you have got one English Community and you have got other distinct communities there. But they don't stand there as distinct communities, and they very soon become part and parcel of the English community. For instance, the Jews in England. They don't stand for any special privileges or for special treatment of any kind. Their pride is that they want to be treated as Englishmen and they are recognised as English men. But that is not the case here. Here we have got not territorial community. We have got communities divided either by caste, race or creed. When you have got so many different communities living in a particular territory we can go only in certain matters together. Beyond certain point, I am sorry, practical politics will not permit us to do away with reservations. I am very glad that the Mala decision of the Government has been referred to by the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi and has not been referred to by the Hon'ble Member for Trippunithura. I accepted the order because I felt the Government

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had not become used to actualities here. What is that case? That was a case of reservation. We did not object as Jews to the passage of any living beings. We objected to a dead body being carried and why did we object? We objected because of sentiment, because of our ignorance—putit like that—and because of our religious feeling and because of our traditional feeling; and my friend on the right in his professional capacity had to demolish my argument as one that could not hold water. I argued that sentiment should be respected and feelings must be taken into consideration. I was met by the order, a copy of which I have got in my hands. In view of the discussion of this matter I knew that this question would come up here, and I am not going to ask for any special privilege at the hands of Government. I only ask whether the resolution ought to be given effect or not. If there are reservations to be given effect to, then reservations must be given effect to all round. I do not wish that you must treat one section with inferiority complex and another with a superiority complex. Treat everybody alike. There are various sections and they have various kinds of sentitments. You all know that for a long time an Englishman would not take food with an Indian on the same table. Now we are doing it very freely and there is nothing preventing it. Formerly invitation to Government House to the Indian was very rare. Nowadays very many are invited but they only do not want to go there. So these are things which will adjust themselves but this cannot be forced by means of Government Order. Now what has happened? A large community of Christian gentlemen, cultured, non-ignorant, opposing the sentiments of a very small microscopic tiniest minority of twenty or twenty-five persons. I pleaded for generosity. I said allow their sentiment. Now let us look into the history of the road case. That road was not a public road. These 20 or 25 Jews went there five hundred years ago and their ancestors settled there in the jungle to take shelter against the persecution of the Portuguese. There was no road. Subsequently a road came. It could have been very well that these people, if they had a longer view, could have said, 'we give this road and we give our land; but we want a reservation regarding a particular matter—regarding dead bodies being carried. My friend in his professional capacity went to the extent of saying, in spite of the finding of fact that a custom had been prevalent for over five hundred years it should be reversed and argued the contrary. Immediately what to we find in the last paper of the Sahodaran? The complaint is from the Mulavukad village that a poor Pulaya party was taking a procession and that was

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objected to by the Christian population there. I admit that rationally my friend was right but rationalism does not yet rule the day, and their complaint is that the public policemen doing duty joined in the obstruction and prevented the procession and dispersed the procession. That is the complaint. It may be so or it may not be so. But it is given publicity in a paper that stands for all peoples' rights. Now, therefore, in this matter Government must be very careful. I join hands with my Hon'ble friend the Member for Trippunittura and maintain that as far as public roads maintained out of public funds are concerned everybody must be treated alike. (*Hear, hear*). And I do not stand for any special privilege, but if you go further and say we must respect one another in a spirit of mutual respect, mutual esteem, and mutual good-will and respect sentiment, then I say let us have this reservation without pain. Let us not try to inflict pain upon one another. After all, that alone matters. Don't inflict pain. It is because of the pain inflicted in the minds of the Ezhuva Member that he stands up and says this as a result of centuries of pain endured. Therefore, I say these are the considerations that should weigh in the matter. Therefore, in a country like this, we shall try our best to move on the right lines. I do not think there is anybody here with any smattering of education who can defend this and there is really no ineferiority complex in it. There are Brahmin cooks who eat what is cooked before their masters eat it. The master does not feel any inferiority thereby.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—It is to test whether there is poison.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Oh! No poison whatsoever. There are several Brahmin cooks in Nayar families and Marar families. He takes his food just as soon as it is cooked and then calls the master and tells him " I have taken my meals; you can sit down; I shall serve you". The master then takes the food. If it was a European he would scorn the servant for taking the meals before the master had taken meals. If that is put in another way at once it will be revolting. If you put it in the ordinary way there is nothing revolting. Take another aspect of it. A Nayar master and a Brahmin peon goes to a wedding party. The Brahmin gets his food first and the Nayar master who may be a judge gets his food only afterwards. There is nothing rediculous in it. I say it is a glorious institution where you make man feel his superiority not merely by his vocation but by some other means. Let it be by birth or hereditary qualties. There is much in noble birth. There is much in noble blood. There

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is much in heredity. Biol gically there is. You cannot rub nature off. Nature produces some very fine trees and nature produces some very ugly trees. How can you help it? There is a biological law also. I had once my own experience in train. A European gentleman told me don't get into my compartment. I at once felt that and it wounded my sentiment. I said that I would exercise my right. I will either open it or see that it is opened. Then I got in with great difficulty and afterwards we became the thickest friends. But supposing it was a Hindu Brahmin widow and she objected to it then I will certainly go away to a third-class compartment even though I have a second-class ticket. That would be my sentiment. I will never take it as an insult and will let her go without any complaint. That is the way in which these things have to be looked into. Therefore in this matter, I say that the roads must be made public and thrown open to all. I do not think that there is any serious objection with regard to the Trippunittura Fort and that the members of the Royal family would objec: to it. There was a time when the Pulayas and other communities were not admitted to His Highness' Palace some years ago. But now it is open even to the lowest member of society and every section of the population are invited for a garden party. His Highness the Maharaja does not object to it. We know that cars, etc., pass through those roads and the grease taken from the cows that are killed are used for those cars and if that does not pollute the people, I do not see what objection there is for that road being used by all. Then either close the road or throw it open to all. Therefore such things can be brought into force. But when the tank question is being analysed, it was said that 90 per cent of the population would object to it. I don't think that was a correct statement because the Ezhuvas themselves form about 28 per cent of the population. But in these matters you would find that if you do not provide good tanks for all people and if you provide tanks for one section alone, certainly I will pounce at the Government for partiality. But if the Government thinks that in an area one public tank will not do and that will create a lot of troubles and difficulties and they are of opinion that for peace and harmony different tanks are necessory, provide that. Public money should be spent for the use and benefit of all sections and it should not go to enrich any particular section. We find that these questions come here because of the neglect of those sections. When the question was put to Mr. Ganchi he advised the members of this House to put a question to the Government as to how many tanks have been provided for the lower classes. Even now, I do not know

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how many there are. There are not more than half a dozen tanks. You have got nearly 200 tanks reserved for temple-going population and for Oottupura-going population and for their benefit. How many tanks have you provided for the labourers and for the poor Ezhuvas who mount the cocoanut trees and for the Pulayas who work with the spade, for their washing, bathing and drinking purposes? That is the question. If the Government make a survey and find that no tanks are provided, it is the incumbent duty of the Government to provide tanks and wells for them. My friend the Member for Ezhuvas south would never misunderstand me, because being neighbours we had on several occasions heated debates about all these and we used to take divergent views. I may say that I can not go to the extent of his propositions. To wipe all difficulties at one stroke of the pen, however much we may wish it, is not possible to do. Therefore if the amendment is not a mischievous amendment and does not take away the spirit of the resolution and if it is only brought in for harmony, I would support it.

Mr. C. V. Kuriyan.—Sir, I rise to oppose the resolution and to support the amendment. A perusal of the resolution will itself show that the acceptance of the principle in fact will be very dangerous. If there are no reservations I am afraid that the Government will have to make arrangements for breach of peace and several safeguards will have to be made. Hence the principle involved in it is not so sublime as the mover imagines it to be. The discussion has now turned in such a manner that the principle has got the appearance or at least the colour of a sublime ideal. But that ideal is connected with such reservations that an ordinary man of ordinary prudence will not be willing to accept the principle itself. If the resolution is put in effect breaches of peace are likely to occur. Then the question is, are we to accept the principle. I think the principle is equally pernicious. The principles underlying Socialism, Bolshevism, the extinguishment of personal property, the levelling of capital and labour are only aggravated types of such tendencies. All these distinctions are in existence in the very nature of the world like the existence of the human beings. Now a student of history will understand that there have been fight between different sections of people on different lines and that in the modern world we find fight going on between capital and labour. These distinctions are inevitable in the nature of things. The Government's duty in that connection will be to obviate all dangerous and revolutionary ideals creeping in the State and to keep the several castes and creeds of His Highness' subjects together by advocating toleration and not to advocate such levelling principles

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so that there may be breaches of peace in the country. In every Government we find in course of time toleration is being extended to several non-caste Hindu people whenever emergency measures have to be taken. Now it is this kind of toleration that our present Government should practise in this matter.

Then again, Sir, it is the corresponding duty of the Government to respect the feelings of the high caste Hindus who were observing from time immemorial customs that have maintained their religion. Such customs have to be respected. And custom, I may say, has got equally the force of law. It is not possible to revolutionise ancient customs and to initiate a policy which would give so much trouble to a major portion of His Highness' subjects. Now having known that the principle is opposed to public policy, to national justice, to the ideas of toleration and is also pernicious and that breaches of peace might arise, I think it is our bounden duty to refuse even the principle involved in this resolution to be discussed. We have to approach this question with respect to the advance made on account of education in this State. I respectfully submit that what we call unapproachability has long ago been removed from our country. It is the influence of education and the spread of mass education that has done this good. Now, since unapproachability has been practically extinguished from the country, it will be the duty of the Government in the interests of the people concerned that His Highness be requested by the present Government to issue orders so that unappraochability may at once be stopped in the State. The soil of Cochin State is not so far advanced that we should not advance a step further. Then again questions and matters which affect the custom and sentiment and feeling of communities and classes of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects should not be mooted in this Council which sits as an advisory body, and it will be an obstacle in the discharge of the onerous duties entrusted to the Members of the Council and the Government. It is the work of social workers who have to do this work outside this Council and educate people so that they might respect the feelings of others, so that toleration may be extended, so that the anticipated trouble that might arise may not occur hereafter. If the Government force this resolution I am sure it will be the most revolutionary act that can be done by the Government. It was the same spirit of toleration that persuaded Mr. Winterbotham who was the senior member of the Council while the same question was agitated in the Madras Legislative Council, to represent that it is the duty of the Government to view these communal and social matters in a spirit of toleration.

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That spirit of toleration should weigh with us, not only with the Members of the Council and Government in preaching such matters but with the educated public in general. Then again what shall be the policy pursued by the Government so that such things may not be accentuated hereafter. Hereafter the policy of the Government should be that public funds should, as far as possible, be utilised for common public purposes only. It was the existence of such exclusive tanks and wells and roads to the neglect of the other communities that the very same question was mooted in the Council. If the same facilities had been given to the other communities also, then the distinction felt by them can be easily removed by the Government. Now the policy to be adopted by the Government is that hereafter, as far as possible, public funds should not be utilised for the benefit of distinct communities and that the same privilege should be extended to all communities alike. The principle adopted in the resolution is the most revolutionary one and not an evolutionary one.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Sir, the spirit of the resolution has been generally accepted by the Government with regard to roads. With regard to tanks and wells, etc., the Government feel considerable doubt regarding the propriety of throwing open all tanks and wells to all people alike without any reservation. Now, it must be admitted and it will be admitted by all that the caste system, though it is undesirable from a very reasonable point of view, still prevails to a large extent throughout the country and very many people think that any interference with the system will be a violation of their rights. And it is the accepted policy of all civilised Governments not to interfere with caste and social customs and religion. Therefore Government must be very cautious in taking measures which would interfere directly or indirectly with the caste or religious sentiments of any particular community. There are certain practical difficulties also in throwing open all tanks and wells to all people alike. It has been referred to by the Hon'ble Member for Trichur that there are some tanks, wells, etc., reserved for caste Hindus, others for Muslims and others for Christians, etc. Trichur is a place where scarcity of water is keenly felt. Supposing for instance, an only well in the caste Hindu quarters is thrown open to all people. What will be the result? Many of the persons who live in that locality and who still are wedded to caste rules will have no water to drink. Either they must give up their caste principles or go without water. If therefore the Government throw open that well to all alike the Government will be forcing upon a community a rule of conduct

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which is obnoxious to them. The question that confronts the Government is, will the Government be justified in enforcing upon any community any particular rule with regard to this matter. It is all well and good to say that people should be taught and all that, but is it the function of the Government, or can the Government take upon its shoulders the function of a social reformer? There is no meaning in enforcing on any particular community any rule or conduct that is obnoxious to them. Supposing a man does not want to be polluted by the approach of a low-caste man he can just move from the road or he can go home and have a bath. That is a practical solution. Generally that is what we do now. Move out just to avoid trouble. When I say this I don't include myself. Many ladies are doing like that. In the case of roads there is this solution but in the case of tanks and wells no such solution is available. I can very well appreciate the feelings and sentiments of people who are not allowed the use of all tanks and wells and I do sympathise with them. It will be the duty of all of us concerned to strive to remove the disabilities of these people. But I do not think it is the function of the Government to do so.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Then what would you suggest for them?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Government will provide them with tanks and wells in places where they are necessary. Government has not got the slightest intention to give them any inconvenience or wound their feelings.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—I want to know whether the Government have any objection to throw open those wells where the people have no objection.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Then why don't you say as far as possible?

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Sir, the chief objection that seems to have been raised against my resolution is that it is likely to wound the feelings of the caste-Hindus.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon —It creates practical difficulties.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—The main objection that is raised against my resolution is that if it is put into practice, it will violate some of the old customs and that it will wound the feelings and sentiments of the caste Hindus. My answer to that is very simple. Are the Government bound to respect the feelings and sentiments only of the caste Hindus? What about the non caste people? Can you trifle with their feelings and sentiments? I suppose the Government has a duty to respect our feelings and sentiments as well. Our sentiments are those which affect our

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self-respect, theirs are those that affect, perhaps, their vanity. After all, how many are these caste Hindus? A lakh and a few thousands every one of them put together. Ezhavas alone form ¼ of the total population, 2½ lakhs nearly and in this matter all the other non-caste Hindus such as Valans, Carpenters, Pulayas, &c., will join together. That will mean the non-caste Hindus would number six or seven times as many as the caste-Hindus. The caste-Hindus can be put into a nut-shell. Still their sentiments alone are to be respected? You can do anything with us. Are we not also human beings? In the words quoted by the Member for Jews I may ask—are we not also men? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? My submission therefore is that this answer, namely, wounding the feelings of the caste-Hindus does not carry much force. But your justification may be only this. The caste-Hindus are in power. The other day the Hon'ble the Secretary to the Government was announcing in this House that the prestige of a community will depend to a very great extent upon the number of appointments held by that community. You are in power and we are not in power. You can easily play upon the helpless communities. If that is your attitude, I submit that is not the way in which the Government ought to approach this question. The next thing said against may resolution was, if a well has been in the midst of Brahmin quarters and exclusively used by them and if to-day it is thrown open and all people are to go and draw water from there, that may create some commotion. When the Government puts the resolution into practice they will have to use their discretion. I did not say that I would not adopt a give and take policy. I do not want to carry a warfare into every Nayar house or Brahmin house. As far as practicable we want to get on amicably. But you should not trample us down. You must also recognise that we have got self respect. The Government have given us education recently, and the education you gave us probably awakened self-respect in us more, and it is revolting now to see that you are discountenancing us and therefore it is that this resolution has been placed. As I said it is more for the prestige that this resolution was tabled than for convenience, though it is for convenience also. My request is that the Government, as far as possible, will try to put into practice the spirit involved in the resolution. So far as the roads are concerned, I am glad to find that there is no opposition from any quarters. I suppose the Government also accept what is said about the roads.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Generally accept.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—You accept only in spirit?

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Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon. I said generally accepted.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—There is still some qualifying word. My request is that this is a matter about which the Government should bestow adequate consideration, and a sympathetic view from the standpoint of the sufferers. You are claiming for certain privileges and you want to cling to your privileges. The other communities want equal rights. The question of constructing a number of tanks or a number of roads for these various communities is again an absurd proposition. For example, I say in Mattancheri, in a small place, how many communities are there? In Ernakulam how many communities are there? If you are going to construct a tank and a well for each and every community where will be space in Ernakulam? There will only be tanks and wells everywhere in Ernakulam.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Nobody said so.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—As many tanks as possible for the various communities.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Common to all communities.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—That is to say don't come and touch what is exclusively ours. You will have a common thing. We will share it with you. That is a nice principle. Your argument is what I have got is my exclusive property but ask for other tanks which all the people will be entitled to use as a matter of common right. The question of constructing separate tanks for separate communities is out of question. The Government is not bound to maintain this sectarian system. It is impracticable I say, for all communities to be given separate tanks and separate wells or roads. That will be an impracticability.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On a point of order. That was not brought to the Council.

Mr. M.K Raman.—That was a suggestion thrown by several of the Members. Wherever you find the necessity ask for tanks. The Nayars have got the Vadakke chira. Let Ezhavas be given one. The carpenters will come; then the blacksmith, then the goldsmith and probably you may get as many requests as there are castes in Cochin.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—That is not the amendment.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—The amendment only means what I have got is my exclusive property. Don't come and interfere on that. I will cling on to it and I will die with it. If you want to have public places have them somewhere else where we will come and share.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—We won't come.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—That seems to be the amendment.

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Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—By that you gain your end.

Mr. M. K Raman.—I don't think it to be a salvation by your coming and bathing in our tanks.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Salvation will be the other way.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Not that, salvation will be the other way. What is the justification in your not allowing the non-caste Hindu to bathe in a tank used by the caste-Hindu but constructed by Government? What is the principle involved? You brand us with an inferiority. 'If you come and bathe I am polluted', that is what you say. Is it not revolting enough? One of the Members said that my resolution is a very annoying and mischievous resolution and that I myself, when I drew up my resolution, thought that there will be breach of peace. I have made a provision in the resolution. It is to avoid breach of peace in emergency cases. I don't know whether that Hon'ble Member correctly read it. I said there will be certain occasions when the Magistrates under the Criminal Procedure Code would have the power to issue an order and reserve certain places for certain purposes for certain hours or for a particular period. Of course that is a matter which will be absolutely necessary for the proper administration of justice. Otherwise there may arise some difficulties. For such an emergency I only made a provision, not because I thought that if all the tanks are thrown open to all classes of people at once there will be breaches of peace but this provision will be absolutely necessary to prevent it.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—May I ask a question to the Hon'ble, Member whether the Hon'ble Member wants a change or wants people to say we are going to have a change? Because many people change. If you ask people to change they will say so. Change but don't tell that you are changing.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—It is not my object to change anybody nor do I want anybody to proclaim that he is changing. I want only to have matters set right. I don't find any justification for the Government to think that a Brahmin is a higher caste-man and therefore he should be given special privileges; a Pulayan is a useless caste-man and thereforehe may be done anything with. It is that attitude of the Government that I want to remove. In the eyes of Government all are equal. I don't want the Brahmins to exercise superiority over others; and anything that perpetuates that inequality between the various communities or any institution that perpetuates such an inequality the Government should not encourage. I request that the

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Government should not maintain any such institution which perpetuates such a distinction. One day or other we must give away all these. We are asking for Swaraj. What will be the Swaraj? If you get it now you will never allow a Pulayan to bathe once in his life. Are we fit for Swaraj with all your caste prejudices? My object is that the Government should not recognise any of these sectarian things and should not perpetuate the sectarian differences. The object of the Government should be as far as possible to bring about a cosmopolitan state of things. Sir, with regard to the roads also, the assurance that is given to me is not really very assuring. The most important road which is closed to us is the Trippunittura Fort Road. You have got a bazaar inside it. And I suppose for the people who are living there, the scavengers must be going there. And there is a lot of traffic also going on; yet you will not allow a non-caste Hindu to walk along that road, which lies within a few miles of the residence of His Highness. It is very painful to see such a glaring injustice done in the name of a civilized Government. I request the Government to take early steps to remove such injustice.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Not for some time to come.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—I know that some stumbling blocks have to be removed. I know there are several difficulties. When the representatives of the people, who come and address this House and who are supposed to be the better class, express views of this nature, is it a wonder that there will be difficulty among the ignorant people who are easily led by others? Government must move and when the Government moves I suppose people will follow. We cannot wait till you bring the whole population to a high standard of culture. I suppose Government will adopt a strong measure, in order to carry into effect the spirit conveyed by the resolution, and the moral force will bring round the people. I do not want by this resolution to divide the House. I know where should I divide. My object is to place all the facts before this House. We, non-caste Hindus in this House, are very few in number and all the caste Hindus will cling on to their privileges. I know what will be the effect.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I do not know.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—My object is only to place all the facts before the House. I do not want to press it to a division. I shall be very glad to withdraw it. But wherever possible, I request the Government to take strong measures to put into practice these wholesome principles.

The resolution was withdrawn with leave of the House.

President.—Do you withdraw the amendment?

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Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—The amendment automatically goes.

5. Defalcation of Government Money.

President.—Resolution of Mr. K. J. Antony.

Mr. K. J. Antony.—The resolution standing in my name runs thus:

"This Council do recommend to the Government to appoint a committee with a majority of non-official elected members for holding an investigation in camera and reporting on the causes of defalcation of Government money in the various departments of the State suggesting possible ways and means for stopping the same in future."

In moving the resolution I wish to draw the attention of the Government to question number 189, asked by the Hon'ble Member for North Ezhuvas as to the number of cases of defalcations that have happened in Cochin Service for the last 6 years and to the detailed statement, namely appendix 1. In the appendix all the particulars are shown, namely:

Name of the Department or office,
Name and caste of the defaulter,
Amount defalcated,
Number and names of persons who are prosecuted,
Number and names of persons who are convicted,
Number of persons turned out of service,
Number still in service and the nature of their punishment.

From this schedule we see altogether 19 instances of defalcation during the last 6 years and the amount defalcated comes to Rs. 1,44,303—6—3. And out of the 19 instances, 11 cases are Nayars, 5 Brahmins, 2 Ambalavasis, and 1 Ezhuva. The departments are Trichur Munsiff's Court, the Forest Department, the Excise Department, the Stamp Office, the Anchal Department the Ernakulam Munsiff's Court, the Medical Department, the Education Department, the Revenue Department and the Agricultural Department. So in most of the Departments the defalcations have taken place. From this we understand that a good lot of Government money is being eaten away by white ants. And it is high time for the Government to conduct an enquiry in this matter and find out ways and means to stop the same. With these few words, I commend the resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. C. V. Kuriyan.—I second it.

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Sir, in regard to the resolution before the Council I shall briefly explain the position of the Government.

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